

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

IO-13 OMB-01 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 2687

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EG US

SUBJECT: HEYKAL ON KISSINGER

1. HEYKAL'S SEPTEMBER 7 EDITORIAL IN AHRAM IS ENTITLED, "KISSINGER . . . AND THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN US." HE BEGINS BY STATING THAT APPOINTMENT OF NEW SECSTATE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO SURPRISE IN LONDON OR PARIS (WHERE HEYKAL WAS ON RECENT VISIT). PRESIDENT NIXON WANTED TO CHANGE SECSTATE FOR MANY REASONS, INCLUDING FACT THAT FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROVIDES FIELD OF FREE MANEUVER AT A TIME WHEN WATERGATE HAS RESTRICTED HIM INTERNALLY. MOREOVER, KISSINGER WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR HANDLING GREAT ISSUES OF US FOREIGN POLICY
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IN PAST FEW YEARS--CHINA DETENTE, SALT AND VIETNAM; WITH

THIS BACKGROUND AND WITH TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICA'S PERIOD OF "SECRET DIPLOMACY" INTO THAT ERA OF MORE CONVENTIONAL DIPLOMACY, AS REQUIRED BY THE "YEAR OF EUROPE," KISSINGER'S ROLE IN WHITE HOUSE WAS DRAWING TO A CLOSE.

2. HEYKAL STATES THAT, JUST AS EUROPEANS ARE PREPARING FOR THE COMING CONFRONTATION WITH KISSINGER, ARABS MUST ALSO PREPARE FOR A SIMILAR CONFRONTATION. ME CRISIS WILL COME TO ATTENTION OF NEW SECSTATE, AND WILL CHALLENGE HIM. HE WILL HAVE TWO COURSES OF ACTION: (A) TO TRY TO SOLVE IT; OR (B) TO ATTEMPT TO "FREEZE" IT IF IT CANNOT BE SOLVED. HEYKAL RECOUNTS STORY OF CONVERSATION HE HELD IN PARIS WITH THREE MEN WHO KNOW KISSINGER WELL--A PROFESSOR OF STRATEGIC SCIENCE, A "CAPABLE DIPLOMAT" AND A FAMOUS INTERNATIONAL JOURNALIST. THE PROFESSOR SUGGESTED THAT KISSINGER'S OUTLOOK ON ME CRISIS WOULD CONSIDER IT WITHIN CONTEXT OF WORLD POWER BALANCE; HE WOULD NOT THINK OF A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT, BUT OF A TOTAL AND FINAL ONE. HE WOULD SEE ME CRISIS WITHIN CONTEXT OF US/SOVIET RELATIONSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP OF ME WITH EUROPE. FINALLY, KISSINGER WOULD NOT CONSIDER PLACING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL WITHOUT "REAL REASONS" FOR DOING SO.

3. ACCORDING TO DIPLOMAT, KISSINGER LOATHES SC RES 242, BELIEVING MORE IN PRACTICAL ACTION THAN IN WRITTEN AND USELESS TEXTS WITH AMBIGUOUS ARTICLES. DIPLOMAT, ACCORDING TO HEYKAL, SAID KISSINGER'S STYLE WAS ONE OF REFRAINING FROM ENTERING ANY ISSUE UNLESS IT COULD BE SOLVED, UNLESS HE COULD USE ALL HIS FORCE, AND UNLESS HE COULD APPLY HIMSELF WITHOUT RESTRAINT OF AUTHORITY.

4. HEYKAL'S "FAMOUS JOURNALIST" TOLD HIM THAT ARABS MUST UNDERSTAND KISSINGER IS COMPLETELY FAMILIAR WITH ISRAELI VIEWPOINT, BUT NOT WITH THAT OF ARABS. HE UNDERSTANDS ISRAEL'S LOGIC, WHICH ASSERTS THE NEED TO RETAIN ARAB LANDS. KISSINGER ALSO BELIEVES IN THE "QUID PRO QUO" THEORY OF RELATIONS--I.E., WHAT WILL ONE PARTY GIVE IN RETURN FOR CONCESSIONS BY THE OTHER? JOURNALIST ADDED THAT KISSINGER HAD ONCE EXPRESSED INCOMPREHENSION THAT SADAT HAD ASKED NOTHING FROM US IN RETURN FOR EXPULSION OF SOVIETS FROM EGYPT; KISSINGER REPORTEDLY ADDED THAT IF SADAT HAD ASKED FOR

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SOMETHING, HIS REQUEST WOULD HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY CONSIDERED.

5. HEYKAL CONCLUDES THAT ARABS MUST NOW ACT TO UPGRADE ME QUESTION IN KISSINGER'S MIND. HE MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO VIEW IT AS A SIMPLE PROBLEM. LEVEL OF TENSION MUST BE RAISED TO CRISIS POINT THAT WOULD IMPOSE ITSELF ON OTHER PARTIES. MOREOVER, THIS TENSION MUST DIRECTLY AFFECT US,

AND US INTERESTS MUST BE PUT IN STATE OF PERIL. AS A RESULT, HEYKAL SAYS ARAB OIL SHOULD BE USED AS A WEAPON; AND THE ARGUMENT TO EFFECT THAT ARAB OIL REVENUES PROVIDE WHEREWITHAL FOR OBTAINING WEAPONRY, IS NOT SUFFICIENT. HEYKAL SAYS THAT, INSOFAR AS KISSINGER NEEDS SOVIETS FOR DETENTE POLICY, ARABS MUST WORK TO WREST SOVIETS FROM AMERICA'S GRASP. HE BELIEVES THAT ARABS MUST BE PREPARED FOR CONFRONTATION WITH KISSINGER SOON.

6. COMMENT: FOR VARIOUS REASONS, WE DO NOT THINK HEYKAL'S ANALYSIS IS A CONSIDERED OPINION HELD BY EITHER SADAT OR GOE ESTABLISHMENT. FOR ONE THING, HEYKAL INSULTS PRESIDENT FOR PAST POLICY MISTAKES, SUCH AS MAKING NO ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN US CONCESSIONS IN RETURN FOR EXPULSION OF SOVIET ADVISORS IN 1972. SECONDLY, HE SUGGESTS COURSES OF ACTION --SUCH AS AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH USSR-- WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH CURRENT EGYPTIAN POLICY. FINALLY, HIS CALL FOR CRISIS DIPLOMACY TO CONFRONT US DOES NOT SQUARE WITH DEESCALATION OF EGYPTIAN WAR RHETORIC SINCE MAY, OR WITH CAUTION WHICH HAS MARKED POLICY OF EGYPT'S NEW MAJOR SUPPORTER, SAUDI ARABIA. WE SEE HEYKAL'S ARTICLE AS AN ESSENTIALLY PERSONAL VIEW DISTILLED FROM CONVERSATIONS IN PARIS, LONDON AND CAIRO, AND FROM CLOSE SCRUTINY OF RECENT TIME AND NEWSWEEK COVER STORIES.

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